/577 cont./

225 will hanker after a piece of breast, another for a piece from the neck; that one prefers the head or the tail fin, some like other parts better. This conversation arises from unrestrained exuberance, and everybody's joy over the rich gift finds expression in such spontaneous wishes. In reality, however, so many special demands could not be considered, nor is the distributor bound to comply with them. In spite of all the previous talk, everyone is content to take any piece that is given him, no matter whether he previously expressed himself in favor of some other one. A sense of honor and the pressure of self-discipline forbid loud demands for preferred parts or expressions of discontent over the piece offered. Since I am not in a position to check personally, I must trust the statements of the Indians that some layers of fat are tastier than others. In general, the entire belly covering is regarded as the best piece.

225 There are special names for the larger individual body areas
§25 of all species of whales. The lips are called kā́uwa. The adja-
192 cent lower part between the lower jaw bones is télaix; the upper part adjacent to the central head area is tā́sa. To the right and lest of this are the two cheeks, čítēška. Next to the jaw region and lower neck, yā́uaxēx, is mā́maja, the generally furrowed breast and belly area. The areas below the cheeks are very rich in fat and are called ēpélēr. On the back, tā́sa leads into tauwēla, the anterior middle back which /578/ leads into hēssēn, or hēssētéx. On either side of this are the ápi areas. Between these and the mā́maja region are the kā́uiya mā́maja, the actual sides of the whale above the vestigial dorsal fins; in front of these, toward the cheeks, are éntēs and énca. The entire rear tapering part is called yēšápi and leads into the wide tail fin, lēpus. The pair of front side fins is called kā́yiči. These areas are named with reference to the layer of fat because the fat is first removed from every stranded whale. An exception is made in the case of the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), the fat of which has a very laxative effect. When afterwards they want to refer to the meat exposed directly under the layer of fat, they choose, in part, names having the additional word íškun (meat). Thus ápi íškun is the meat in the abdominal covering. Moreover, there is a special designation for the meat of the entire upper and lower rump, namely, uskúpur. The

/578 cont./

225 parts on the upper jaw extending far back are called yúwaxë;
825 the tongue, lénki; and the entrails, héduwa. For the meat close
192 between and on the bones, they use the special designation hita (349),

349. BD:260 gives a different meaning: "Old and much wasted blubber as found on shores after being long in the sea" /cited in English/.

and for the fatty tissue in the body cavities, apéla. The great importance of a stranded whale for an entire group of people explains why there are special designations for the individual areas and parts of the body. Even the place where the whale has been tossed up has the special name ufkáriteka. The word tuufkáritekána, which BD:451 translates "to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" /cited in English/, comes from the same root.

225 It is easy to see the reason for the distribution by different men. It is nothing more nor less than the best possible utilization of the entire huge animal. They do not want any part to be lost or soiled and trampled. Such devastation would be unavoidable if everybody could step up to the whale unhindered and ruthlessly cut out certain parts for himself. In an orderly distribution the special wishes of those present are considered as much as possible, everyone receives an abundance, and the entire supply is utilized. Hence everybody adheres strictly to the established custom and lets the respective distributors attend to their duty. In spite of
225 this, selfishness sometimes prevails, and a group will try to con-
578 ceal the stranding of a whale from others or, if the latter should come near, deny them access to the dead sea monster. Immediately a fight begins and the weaker side must give up the booty to the others (350). Such events /579/ are rare because a floating

350. Bridges (a):208 leaves no doubt about serious encounters over a stranded whale: "As long as a party can safely keep a whale to themselves they take care not to spread the news...But great fights sometimes happen through the selfishness of a party. For

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601 clearly demanded by the language. I am also adding several verbs
127 which can only increase the clarity of this list of kinship terms for linguists as well as ethnologists, and above all for sociologists. Anyone who wishes to engage in more profound work is referred to the Dictionary.

601 Male relatives are given on the left, female on the right of the page. Occasionally we give the possessive and forms of address. Here and there we also give number, such as plural or dual, as well as the singular. Whatever appears in parentheses ( ) can be omitted or retained. The first numbers, which are not in parentheses and are followed by a period, indicate the person. The following number in parentheses indicates chapter and verse from the translation of the Gospel according to Luke.

601 The Indians call themselves yámana.

192 yamana-ūwa, man — yamana-ā-kīpa, woman
yamali(m), people in the plural — yamanaiamalim, human beings
ū-aiamalim, men (11, 44; 9, 14) — kīp-aiamalim, women (23, 49. 55; 24, 22)

[609] Strangers are clearly separated: agōpatūa, aua, mēamūa, the first being meant as European, the last as native strangers.
ūa, human being, man, also uōn (23, 2. 4. 14. 19); ūa in Luke (1, 31) used as "son" since here it can be the equivalent of the word "human being."

ūa, uōn, human being, man — kīpa, woman, wife, also kīpāki pa, the same in the eastern part of Beagle Channel

For the latter word kīpa-dāra, "all women, every woman," is striking. See "child" in this connection.

"Master" is gāligūa (12, 43), "sovereigns, aristocracy," tauīnaala (21, 12), in the singular tauīna, "lord, master" (9, 54; 12, 13) or tauīnūa, "the highest" (18, 18), whereas ōkōr mūtāgūua means "head of the house" (12, 39; 14, 26).
uātaala, "the elders, old one," appears in Luke (7, 3).
ma-gālig-ūa is used for "manservant" or "maidservant" (1, 38; 12, 36).
uōštōxyāgūuōn, male servants (7, 2); uōštāgūkīpeiamalim, female servants (12, 43. 45).

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601 Contemptuously one speaks of hannūwa, "my countrymen." We shall occasionally mention such analogies.

Just as a term may be restricted with reference to a locality, so also may one be restricted with reference to sex: winni-ɫalan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. The expression is familiar, however, and this must be taken into consideration each time.

There are two expressions for "parents": dɨ̄šinakaiamalim and tūkūtūrū. The designation for a pair also applies to a single spouse, like tuku, tūkū(n), tūkun (8, 3; 18, 29), or ɨ̄kin'ha, "my husband, my wife." kī-tūku-n, "his wife, her husband." kōtū-pai tuku kōnjin, "this is the wife of that man, this is the husband of that woman." There are also designations exclusively for one, but only with reference to the woman. Thus: paua-tuku-ɨ̄ki, if simply a wife is meant, whereas the next wife or the second wife is called uidā̄g(ā̄ki), called this because her place is at the upper or inner side in the wigwam of her husband. dā̄rā̄-kī̄p-a means simply "old woman." Bride and bridegroom are tuku, like "husband, wife" above. On the other hand, matuku is used only for "husband, wife."

601 /788/ The latter word means only "to marry," or more
192 exactly, to go or come north and marry or be married or in order to marry. "A married pair" or "to marry one another" is matūkūpai. "One man and his wives, two men and their wives" is matūkwɨ̄amalim. There are a great many expressions in this category, for example, tūmūšānuɫyāgū, to detain or take in someone's wife or husband. gōr'-tūkū, to marry a woman when one has no right to her. gā̄ligū, to send or to give in marriage, namely, a man his daughter (but not his son). gā̄ligūmūtū, to cause to go and sit down in the wigwam, as a father his daughter with regard to her future husband. wōhyā̄kin, the first wife whose place is at the door-side of her husband. Yamalūwā̄na (sēapōna, sēipōna) means to treat female relatives with such familiarity as is proper only toward those with whom a marriage is to be contracted, or to marry relatives, such as female cousins, aunts, etc., to permit oneself unusual liberties with someone's relatives or family, to desecrate something sacred, or to be crude. tūtux-gā̄mata, to give someone in marriage in

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601 192 place of someone else. tuxkẽna, to marry on the boat. tuxkẽlẽ, to be married to or to marry more than two women. tunnana, to love, to treat with love and kindness, such as a man his wife (said only about women). tuxuyellẽki, a woman who was abandoned or sent away by a former husband. twẽlamẽ̃wana, twẽlamẽ̃wanẽ̃lligẽ̃, to give a man as his wife a woman who is related to him. tẽmẽ̃ukẽrilẽn tẽkẽ̃pei, to be promised to a man in marriage (1, 27). tutẽkẽ̃kandaulum, of the wedding in the house of his wife (12, 30). kõtẽ̃mẽ̃gẽ̃ligẽ̃indẽ́ kĩpa, they courted (17, 27). kõtẽ̃mẽ̃gẽ̃ligẽ̃indẽ́ kĩpa, women given in marriage (17, 27). kõtuxmẽ̃ẽ̃ndẽ́ ẽa, one who has lived with her husband (2, 36). makurẽ̃a, the beloved woman, the chosen one (9, 35; 23, 25). matunan-ẽnẽ̃gẽ̃a, a woman above all others favored by her husband.

601 Concerning the word for "father," it is noteworthy that Bridges uses only a single one with the possessive 3; he expressly points to the fact that only the possessives given for a word by him can be used. And as a matter of fact, the connection mentioned is given in all his entries.

imẽ̃, imẽ̃, ĩmẽ̃n, father (11, 2.13; 12, 30)
ĩmundeian, fathers (21, 16)
imẽ̃ẽian, fathers (23, 26)

hau ĩmun, 1. do.
sin ĩmun, 2. do.
kõnjimin ĩmun, 3. do.
kiĕ imun, 3. do. (15, 28)
kiĕ ĩmun, 3. do.
kõtasẽ̃ki, do., old man, elderly man
kõtasa (fam.) kõtas(in), do.
/789/
dĩrẽ̃uẽa, elder, old man, do.

dĩruẽ̃kin, dĩrẽ̃uẽ̃kin, do. (12, 53; 15, 22)

dĩbi(n), mother (1, 43.4, 30)
tẽkẽ̃omun, mother of sons only
dĩbindeian, mothers (21, 16)
hi-dĩbẽ́(a)n, 1. mother (8, 21)
hi-dĩbin, 1. do.
dĩbeis, 2. do. (8, 20)
sin(a) dĩbin, 2. do.
kõnjimin dĩbin, 3. do.
ki dĩbin 3. do. (8, 19)

kõtasa-kĩp-ẽki, mother, old woman
kõt(a)as-kĩpa, do.

dĩrẽ̃kĩpa, elder, old woman, do. (1, 18; 12, 53; 2, 36)
darakĩpa, dĩrĩpa, an elder, large and strong woman, mother

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(9) dîtua, your father (15, 27) — dara-winni, dîra-inni, do., do.
dîtua(n), 2. do.
hî dîtua(n), 1. do.
hî dîtûan, 1. do. (15, 12)
(u)tîmua(n), elder man
tînîwa, my father, my old husband (fam.) — tînîwa-kîpa, my mother, my old wife (fam.)
tanimua, 2. do.
(hous) tîmagaiwa, 1. do., do. (fam. and friendly on the part of younger people) — pasanîpa, mother
yanaua, my father (local in the east) — haua pasanîpa, 1. do.

(9) 192 A few further supplementary items. dapîn, dîpîn (11, 27; 23, 29) tîmmuîa (in the south), "mother's breast"; dapîta "to suck"; gaiuli, "to grow to maturity" (said of a mother's breast). gîmua, "a mother who bears only female offspring." mêamasa, maiamasa, "pregnant." yembôna, "to have a small child." yembôniîpa, "mother of a small child." yelîmûgî, "to be confined before another woman." tîmîmulîdî, "to have children or descendants." tîmîana, "embryo, to be with child in the first few months." gaiuli, "embryo," amagôna, "belly, embryo, egg, pregnant," mûgî, "to adopt as a son, to bring forth a child, to have a boy." mîîtsîdôri, "to come forth, to come into the world." yîîkîpimana, "to have a child or other dependents whose life is endangered by others." tîmûgîmaka, "not to have brought forth offspring, childless, sterile." îîtui, "sterile, not having offspring." mûgîmaka, "not to have (borne) a child." mûrîmûgîpai, "to have two children." wêna, "fruit of the womb," kîîn wêna, 3. do.; haa gaiuli, 1. do. wênaga, "you will conceive (in the womb)" (1, 31), kîmîmamdî, "she became pregnant" (1, 34). mîîtsîn, "having borne" (after pregnancy; 11, 27). sa tîmîgîaîa "you will bear a son (man) (1, 31). tîmmîyûgî, "embryo," tîmmîyûgî-dîbi, hasauna kîpa, "a pregnant woman." yîdîlaî, "afterbirth, navel cord." gupa, "navel," gîpui, "navel cord."

Pertaining to the man: îag-gaia, alua-gaia, bîîlîa, "testicles," bîîlîakai-îîadîmî, "kidneys." This is associated with bîîlîgaiua,

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a favorite game in which this word is repeated. halīšči, "penis." matūmāgūmahūwa, "a man who has no children, childless man." matūmāgū, "to have or conceive a child (said only of the man), to be born in a designated place or at a designated time." matūšāa, "to have (conceived) more than two children." ha-matūmāgūpūkin-dē kaiūala ūmōlategan-apai, "I conceived twins." yembōnūwa, "a man who has a small child." tūkatega (said of a man), "to take a woman into his canoe as his wife." ana, /790/ tiamanūja, "to have sexual intercourse." lōūaiella, "to cease conceiving or to cease bringing forth offspring."

ūgūge, "adulterous, lascivious, lewd." ūun, "adulterous, tending toward importunity or violence," kīpata, "to commit adultery, to rape a woman, adulterous, rake." kīpūtaki, "the adulterer." kīpatīkin'a "Oh, you adulterous human being!" kīpōūōmbi, "adulterous, incestuous, fornicator." gōr'ugaia, "to pester a man shamelessly and provocatively by trying to flirt with his wife against her will."

haua matūmāgū mpala, "my birthday."

ūpūn-'a, widower, bachelor
ōūtakīki, do.
ūūtaka, "deprived of husband or of wife, absent (living alone) from husband or wife"; mapaiūpunanīkīpa, "a woman whose husband has been murdered." gūtāt ūpōna, "to die in childbed."

makū, mākun, mākūn, son
mīkū, do. (9, 58; 12, 8)
ōōmbei mākū, two do. (15, 11)

haua mīkūn, 1. do. (15, 31; 9, 38)
sa mīkun, 2. do. (15, 30)
kī mīkun, 3. do. (20, 44)
nōūūa, nalewa, do. (1, 13. 57)

tūmāgū kai-uala, son (illeg.)
kaiūala, child (especially male)
kai-yūala, do. (2, 40; 43)
kaigūala, do.

ūpūn kīpa, widow
ōūtakīkika, do. (2, 37; 21, 2)

kīpa-n, mā-kīpa, daughter
mā-kīpa-n, do. (2, 36; 8, 49)
makipeiamalim, daughters (23, 28)
haua mākīpan, 1. do.

kī mā(kī)pan, 3. do.
imni, inia, do.
ninia, my daughter! (8, 48)
haua uei-kipa-n, 1. daughter
tūmāgū imi, daughter (illeg.)
kipa kaiūala, child (f.)

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yārūmatīa, small baby (m.)

yārū-kīpa, young woman, wife, daughter

yārumūa, do., youth (12, 53; 7, 14; 15, 21)

yārumūāki, the son

jakauīya, ūjakauīya, baby (m.)

ūjakauīyākīpa, baby (f.)

šatukumara, child (m.), do.

šatukumarakīpa, child (f.)

Now just a few more additions to this already large selection, which, as in all cases, will be merely a sampling.

mōtakaiyin, "descendant, offspring." pikin-ini, "infant." keiiūalaiamalim, "children" (6, 35; 11, 7; 20, 34). ōsūuākin, "youngest" (m., f., 15, 12). kūpašpāki(n), kaguspa, kaguspaki, kōčiyella, "the last-born," aiannaaiamamāgūa, kiūeiamunyaeiamamagyūwa, "first-born," keiyaeiamana mūgudē wōlēwa, "she bore her first-born" (2, 7). šōla (usually šela), "young," šōl-āki, "little innocent child," šōladāra, "the world of childhood." amapīta, "a child that cannot yet speak." yekākin, "small child" (2, 12. 16). yekaalēwa, "a small boy." yakauiyanda, "a little (huge) fellow." maalēwa, "boys together, /791/ no girls among them." mīakanakausa, "little one /male/" (7, 28). uidāga, "a youth, male, male sex" [human beings and animals].

yōaiamana, "to be the oldest or first-born of the family."

yōaiamānūwa, first-born

yōaiamanākīpa, oldest daughter

yāčikaiāki, oldest, first-born

yāčikaiākīpa, first-born (sing., f.)

yatuwaiim oldest, first-born son or brother

yātūwaikipa, do., sister

šamaraačin haanaa, "what a brother!" yatuwaiimpai, "the two eldest brothers." uaana, "a man who is not yet a yékamuš, a non-initiate." tāmōm, "a boy who has not yet been subjected to the kína discipline, who has not yet been initiated in the kína rites." yōnmamāgūa, "first-born." yarumaala, "young people." dāraalēwa, "an old heavy boy, an old fellow, a heavy youth, a man and no longer a youth." dārūaala, dārūwa, "old people, an old man." dārūwāki, "the old man." mašūpunāpai, "two persons together, both of whom are unmarried," mōtūōnata, "to grow to full manhood."

šuganíkīpa, "girl (1, 27; 8, 54), maiden, young woman." umbul(l)ux, "a girl, a baby (f.), a young daughter." yeka-šuganíkīpa, "a little girl." tūwaikīpa, "the eldest or first-born

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601 192 daughter, the one before all others." sāpa, "blood" (11, 50. 51; 22, 44), sāpa, do., sāpan(ī)a, "to menstruate," turi, "the first menstruation, "wēlix, "menses." kīmūakīpa, "a woman who is convalescing after a severe illness" (fam.).

auakōšandaulumūa kōnjin, "he is a man who does not belong to my family or to my place." auakōšan hai annū, "I am a man who is not closely related to him." mamāgwīamalim, "a man and his children, the whole family." matūkwīamalim, "a man and his wives who are related to one another. annū mamōkus kōndaian, "those who are brothers and sisters to one another, they are brothers," mamōkus-pai, "two who are brothers," mamōkus-yamalim, "brothers, companions." mamāgū(pai), "a father and his sons, a mother and her sons." hauiyama' ūsi-ndaulum ūa, "a man from my region."

maaimpai, maaimyamalim, "two and more who are brothers."

maaikīpāpai, maaikīpaimalim, "two and more who are sisters."

aniūali, "a person who has little influence or is unprotected against injustice because most of his male relatives are dead." arūgo, "orphan," ārūkūāki, ārūkū(a), "one who has neither father nor mother, a double orphan."

wōšakīya, orphan boy

yōšōla, an orphaned child

pillušˇ sons and daughters of someone murdered (m.)

tauwōlūwa, a man in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

wōsakīyakīpa, orphan girl

yōšōlakīpa, a double orphan

pillušˇkīpan, daughters of someone murdered (m.)

tauwōlūwākīpa, a woman in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

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tōpōr(ūw)a, father or brother of someone murdered

tōpōrakīpa, a mother of someone murdered, her son or sister /sic; daughter/, her brother or sister

tōpōra, "relatives, such as mother or father and brothers and [627] sisters, of someone murdered." tōpōrana, "the obligation to exact vengeance on the murderers of someone's child or brother or sister."

mēalōlāpai, "two persons, boys, who are orphans."

hikapillušˇ, hikōška, "a boy whose father or mother drowned."

[603] ūsiluwa, an expression applied to a place instead of its real name, out of respect for the dead person who was named after it.

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ūsiluswōnji(z?), a name given a boy in place of the name he was given at birth, out of respect for the late deceased who had the same name as his. Thus, if two persons have the same name, the survivor is called ūsiluswōnji(z?); if the person is a woman, ūsiluswōnji(z?)-kīpa. ūsitōpa, "a person whose close relatives are dead, an orphan (because of negligence or through the fault of the father)." hau-ūlūuf, "my deceased relatives." māmeiākindeian, "the dead" (20, 37). [Some of these terms will be repeated in the section on mourning customs.]

auakōša kīpaiamalim, "women who are not related." hau'usi-kīpaiamalim, "my country-women," sa-kaiamākūtasākīpan, "a woman from your grandmother's region." winni-ūalan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. (fam.). manōkus-kīpa, three or more who are sisters or sisters and brothers or first cousins. mamōkus-kīpāpai, "those who are sisters or sisters and brothers." mamōkus-kīpaiamalim, "three or more who are sisters or brothers and sisters." mamākīpa, mamākīpāpai, "mother and daughter, father and daughter," mamākipaiamalim, "a mother and her daughters, a father and his daughters." kwīnan, "a woman, recently widowed, taken as a wife by another man." möxye[illegible], "to die and leave a child as orphan" (said only of a mother). möxyellāki, "a child whose mother died, a motherless child." kōšpix-kīpa, "a woman who recently lost a brother, a sister, or a male or female cousin. ūāruxyellādātū, a family of children surviving the death, for example, of a mother. ūātōlliyellādātū, "to leave orphans," as a mother her family. gaiiūasana, "female descendants," girls in general, and, if little protected by men, "weak women."

tūmāgūdārūwa(n), stepfather
tūmāgūdārūa, do.
tūmāgūdāruōn, do.
kī tumāgūdārūwan, 3. do.
tūmāgun, stepson
tūmāgu (kaiiūala), do.
kī tumāgun, 3. do.
tūnāgun, do.

tūmāgūdārakīpan, stepmother
tūmāgūdārakīpa, do.
tūmayakīpa, do.
kī tumāgūdārakīpan, 3. do.
tūmākīpan, stepdaughter
tūmāgū'in(n)i, do.
kī tumākīpan, 3. do.

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[597] tūmākīpana, "to adopt or to become a stepparent of daughters by marrying their father or mother."

/962 cont./

42 Sometimes it can even be shown that this or that person expressed himself first one way and then another. If one takes the trouble to evaluate the actions of the natives from their standpoint, it becomes clear that they are almost never in violation of the legal norms of Europeans. The repeatedly circulated opinion that our Yamana have no feeling for "thine" and "mine" and that therefore they practice uninhibited theft and robbery is wholly unproved slander. If we were to assume such behavior, how would peaceful coexistence with their own kind be possible? Every Indian knows the laws pertaining to common property as well as personal property, and there are all kinds of considerations that force him to observe them carefully; otherwise he could not live in the society of his fellow-tribesmen.

a. Kinds of Property

In view of the unique position of the Yamana within the totality of lower primitive peoples and also for an exact understanding of the individuality of their culture traits, it is advisable to point out definitely at the beginning what a well-developed conception of property our Fuegians possess. They have a clear conception of "thine" and "mine"; accordingly, they understand occasional violations of property rights and actually observe the titles of possession which are current there. They use possessive pronouns [192] (Pronomina possessiva) to distinguish a specific person as the owner of certain things. There is a large selection of words designating theft and damage to goods belonging to others, and there are plenty of opprobrius terms for persons who seize the property of others (378).

378. Strangely enough, Spegazzini (a):177 maintains that among all three Fuegian tribes "the verbs to take and to steal are equivalent" /translated from Spanish/. A glance into BD and at the word lists of the Selk'nam and Halakwulup would easily have shown him his mistake.

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422 593 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

422 593 192 The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē čkāli manāax ājan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajuin ēxuf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

422 593 264 576 Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

431 476 593 Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid; hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /972/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family hut from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

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551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People
192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres-
201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "bāf."

576 It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone
514 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. People who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yĕkamuš at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children.
522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and
576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yĕškusinĵala /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

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435 Europeans, and therefore no one should find it strange that the Indians neither protect nor take good care of costly or rare objects. It is quite generally true that they do not handle their tools carefully or protect them; they carelessly trust their own ability and manufacture what they need without much trouble. Any kind of wealth and an accumulation of objects would be nothing more than a burden to them.

802 Their material possessions are amazingly meager. Hence they can do without numbers even more easily than without a complicated scale of value. There are definite designations: one = yëkáli; two = kompéipe; and three = máten. In general the Yamana do not count beyond that. They designate anything beyond three as wúu = much. "Very much" is designated either as wúu wúu or čílla wúu. For an extraordinary amount the expression manáana wúu is used. A few compounds are also used to express numbers above three. They say yëkáli yés, "one hand," and kompéi yés "two hands," which mean "five" and "ten," respectively. BD:235 gives dauači, "a few as from five to twenty" /cited in English/. A few other forms are also given in BD. Constructions such as máten čílla máten probably first arose under the influence of Europeans. Compare Hyades (q):317. If the Yamana wish to express a figure beyond three, they prefer to use their fingers, and they indicate the number by shaking the specific finger, without forming or expressing a special word for the number. Our Fuegians are unacquainted with measures of length and height. To indicate an insignificant length they make a fist with both hands and, by holding them apart, show the specified length. At the same time they say ketémuka, from ketém = like this here, múka = long. The Yamana do not strive for any particular accuracy either in counting or measuring.

192 201 A few words that our Indians use as exclamations should be mentioned briefly. If they agree with a word or a request, they utter a faint ŋ, without opening the mouth; sometimes they also bow the head slightly. If they are very much interested, they utter a loud áii = good, right, very well; or an excited tas = yes, yes; finally, /1447/ wič = splendid, excellent. They lack what we imply with "no." If a person does not agree with the words of

/1447 cont./

•192 another, he remains silent and motionless; sometimes he turns
201 his head gently to the left and at the same time utters a barely perceptible ŋ. Compare Hyades (q):247.

2. Time Designations

805 The differences between day and night and between one season and the next are too great for our Fuegians not to have designated them with special words. They do not have an expression corresponding exactly to "day"; they use mā́ala = light, brightness. From this they derive the much used maalā́alan = daily, and a number of other compounds. Compare BD:351. Although the Yamana do not have a definite division of time in hours, they divide the day into sections of about four hours. They say ī́tēka or mā́ala tupā́ana for the time from dawn to the time when the sun is about halfway to the zenith, that is, about ten o'clock. The basic meaning of ī́tēka is "dawn." BD: 550 gives tupā́ana as "to spread as light does so that day is spread abroad" /cited in English/. This is followed by yínatapa mā́ala, noontide, from ten to two o'clock. Compare yinata, "to cross over..." /cited in English/ in BD:653. Then comes kēnigā́inata, the afternoon, the time to about six o'clock. BD:181 gives kōnínata, "to get distant, to go a long way off" /cited in English/. This is followed by yárum lēkagḗna, the time of evening twilight until about nine o'clock. The Yamana are familiar with all these expressions.

They also divide up the night. The above-mentioned lēkagḗna is followed by lḗkēx, the time from the first darkness to midnight. This is followed by the period yínatapa lḗkēx, from midnight to about three o'clock. Finally there is mā́alupe yepatī́gata, the time when it grows light in the morning, between three and seven o'clock. Although these expressions are universally understood, an expert on the stars will now and then also indicate the time of night by their position in the sky.

The Yamana divide the year into definitely recognizable, though not sharply separated periods which they appropriately call seasons. Nature appears in a different garb four times, the change

/1459 cont./

751 278 spread over it; the latter is a reliable remedy for growths resembling carbuncles. Pustules are daubed and rubbed gently with saliva. Fresh small twigs and leaves of Macrocystis are put on swellings; they develop a slimy substance which is allowed to take effect. Fresh barberry shavings are put on an aching tooth. Loose teeth are broken and pulled out with the fingers. Hyades [158] (p):339 says something that I cannot confirm from my own observations: "Insanity, if it exists, is very rare. The mad are treated with cold baths" /translated from French/. A broken arm is treated 752 by first placing thin sticks and a few pieces of leather around it; then this is bound with stout strips of leather. The bandage is kept in place until the pain and swelling have subsided. These are the procedures that the Fuegians know for helping themselves in case of accidents and physical ailments.

7. The Language

192 114 It is well known that the language of the Yamana has often been described in general accounts and there is an astonishing amount of material. Many a writer has let himself be carried away in repeated references to an unusually rich vocabulary. Bridges himself started this trend. I tried to explain in (gg):162 why he said that his dictionary contained 32,430 words. I have also emphatically pointed out that the Yamana language does not have that number of words and that a rich vocabulary by no means indicates a high level of development for this language. "Quite the contrary," I (hh):183 said earlier, "one will recognize the considerable poverty of a language from the fact that it requires many words." Long before, Garbe:336 pointed to this decisive condition. No one is to be blamed for the fact that a critical study of Yamana grammar as a whole has not yet been carried out -- F. Hestermann worked on a number of parts -- /1460/ for texts are lacking. The comprehensive dictionary of the Reverend T. Bridges was only published in 1933 by Hestermann and Gusinde, and the well-known translations of the New Testament that Bridges made six decades ago are not suitable for this purpose. I, too, should not be reproached and told that I failed to collect original texts. To exonerate myself, I may point out that on my journeys I was

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192 completely absorbed by no less urgent tasks. Serious consider-
114 ation should also be given to the fact that the language in use today has been altered and corrupted as a result of the banding together of the last survivors of the five original dialect groups and their contact with European culture. For example, their own word for "nothing" has dropped out of use completely, and old and young have substituted "nothing" /cited in English/ for it. I was thus faced with the lamentable fact that at the beginning of my journeys it was too late to record the pure, uncorrupted linguistic heritage of the Yamana. However, I was still able to determine the boundaries of the former dialect groups, as I called them (p. 199 /untranslated/), and the phonetic system. Compare Gusinde (s):1000.

197 This is not the place to describe in detail the more important peculiarities of Yamana grammar. Nor need I repeat that in (hh): 183 I maintained that "the low stage of development of the language is in perfect agreement with the whole mental constitution of the Yamana as it is revealed in other areas. This does not in the least cast any doubt on the fact that these Indians, judged by their mental capacity, are fully mature human beings." For the time being one must regard Yamana as an isolated language which is not even closely related to neighboring Selk'nam and Halakwulup. Comparative studies will show whether Yamana can be related to the meager remains of a definite Chaco language.

193 Only the following characteristics of this language will be mentioned. The root and the word are seldom the same. Usually verb and noun are separated; this is less often true of adjective and substantive in the noun, but always of the pronoun. Word formation, as well as every other grammatical formation, occurs through the use of actual prefixes and suffixes. Verbs and nouns abound in formations. The richest of all is the pronoun; on this account it has a prominent place among all the other languages of the world. Nouns are monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the latter being always recognizable as compounds. Often prefix and suffix occur in the same formation. There is no grammatical gender, but number and case are all the more elaborate. The noun has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, the last two being formed only with suffixes. The genitive is prominent.

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speak the central dialect. The entire vocabulary was checked by Mr. William Bridges and any words not in the central dialect were noted.

The richness of the language is indicated by the more than 32,000 words brought together by Rev. Thomas Bridges. Many of these words, of course, are compounds, but such a vast number are fundamentally due to unusual specialization in meaning.

On the other hand, Yahgan exhibits the lack, usual among primitive people, of abstract ideas and generalizations. In fact, even in English (which, due to missionary training, some of the Indians spoke fairly well) the Yahgan exhibited inability to grasp the concept of generalities.

The manner of counting was even more primitive than the Ona count, for the Yahgan had no words for 4 and 6, which, to be sure, were compound numbers in the primitive Ona system. The Yahgan count is:

1.	*hikóli*	one
2.	*kambalbi*	two
3.	*matén*	three
5.	*hikóli ilrsh*[1]	one hand
10.	*kambal ilrsh*	two hands

Clothing

From Fitzroy's description of the Yahgan, cited above, it appears that there was very little order or regularity in their scanty dress. However, though seemingly inadequate, their clothes were of well-defined forms which we shall describe. It is no exaggeration or overstatement to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in the world. As compared to the Ona, their garments, similar in nature, were deficient in size, while the stiff and unyielding skins they employed from their very nature lacked the warmth supplied by the pliable, voluminous, and snug-fitting robes of the Foot Indians. We must add that individuals of both sexes and all ages often went entirely naked.

1. Cape.—The usual cape worn in summer and winter alike by both men and women was a seal or sea-otter skin. Sometimes two

[Text continues on page 123]

[1] Bove gives the word *capatpa* for 5. It was not known to any Yahgan Indian or member of the Bridges or Lawrence families encountered by the writer.

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KINSHIP

The Yahgan kinship terms, like the Ona, were compounded with the possessive adjectives "my," "your," "his," or "her" (*háuu, sína, kichin*). These whole expressions may or may not be contracted. Additional complications were introduced by the fact that different terms in some cases were used when speaking of a person nearby or far away, and again when two people or several people took part in the conversation.

The kinship terms listed below were obtained in part from Mr. Fred. Lawrence and in part from Yahgan at Puerto Mejillones, and have been checked by Mr. William Bridges. It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used.[1] We have given many terms only in the first person when the second and third persons are regularly formed.

TABLE V.—YAHGAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

FATHER

my father	*háwahímun, háwimun*
your father	*sínahímun, sínimun*
his (her) father (when nearby)	*kichinhímun, kichimun*
his (her) father (when afar)	*kúnchiminhímun*

MOTHER

my mother (when two speak)	*háwadábe*
my mother (when several speak)	*hídabéyan*
your mother	*sínadábe*
his (her) mother (when nearby)	*kichinddbe*
his (her) mother (when afar)	*kidabéan*

BROTHER

my elder brother	*háwawaíamun*
your elder brother (when nearby)	*sínawaíamun*
your elder brother (when afar)	*waímhaki*
his elder brother	*kichinwaíamun*
my middle (of 3) brother	*háwayínatápawaíma*
your middle (of 3) brother	*sínayínatápawaíma*
his middle (of 3) brother	*kichinyínatápawaíma*
my younger brother	*háwaashuwá, háwaashuwaíki*
your younger brother	*sínaashuwá, sínaashuwaíki*
his younger brother	*kichinashuwá, kichinashuwaíki*
my brother next to my eldest	*háwawaímakínchigaíakigaíaki*
my brother next to my youngest	*háwaashuwaíakínchigaíaki háwaúshpaki*
my brother next to my second	*háwayénatawaímakínchigaíakigaíaki*

[1] Both Fitzroy and Darwin comment on the extraordinary rapidity with which the Yahgan and Alacaluf taken to England in the *Beagle* forgot how to speak their native tongues.

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MISCELLANEOUS

man, *chon.*
woman, *na.*
child, *tělken.*
infant, *kaŭlgen.*
fire, *kaŭk.*
flame, *yálue.*
earth, *wuk.*
sky, *sk'o.*
afternoon, *gringailrsk.*
sunrise, *makok.*
rain, *chálo.*
initiation lodge, *kain'.*

YAHGAN VOCABULARY

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ANIMALS AND BIRDS

coypu, *saiapal.*
fish: (1) locally called mullet, *kaŭmush;* (2) locally called sardine, *takápi.*
goose, kelp, *shákush.*
guanaco, *amarapáwa.*
heron, *túwuch.*
porpoise, *shawiano.*

CANOE PARTS AND EQUIPMENT [1]

bark of *Nothofagus betuloides, alirshun.*
canoe: (1) of bark, *ánan;* (2) of wood, *lapatáganan.*
fireplace, *af.*
gunwale, *wúrri.*
mooring rope, *shukamí.*
mooring thong, *wurrsh.*
paddle, *ápi.*
ribs, *ushkúlakin.*
whalebone, *tirsh.*

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

guanaco-skin cape, *maiáka.*
headband: (1) of heron-feathers, *kapawára* (eastern dialect, *kapawúrrh*); (2) of kelp-goose down, *pagal.*
leggings, *páwa.*
moccasin, *kíli.*
necklace of shell, *opúrrshka.*
pubic covering, *múshwalána.*
wristlet or anklet, *mašamasár.*

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

basket: (1) hitched coil ("Fuegian" basketry), *tawě'la;* (2) twisted hitched coil, *ulodnasiába;* (3) knotted hitch without foundation, *gaílchim;* (4) wrapped, *chiwanúsh.*
bucket, *alakála.*
comb, *ushtánim.*
fire-tongs, *láka.*
fungus used as tinder, *awachiq.*
house, *ákharh.*
housetop of seal-hide, *kaŭkis.*
pouch: (1) of guanaco-hide for fire-making apparatus, *asánu;* (2) of guanaco-hide for shaman's paraphernalia, *humulúf;* (3) of otter-tail for tobacco, *yeten;* (4) of seal-bladder for oil, *athhlaháni;* (5) of seal throat for paint, *yái;* (6) of seal-gut for oil, *kália.*
pyrites, *s'wálli.*
shell cup, *auflán.*
stick for painting face, *teldikiamána.*

MATERIALS

grass, *mápi.*
guanaco-sinew, *ushwámi.*
kelp: (1) ordinary variety, *kaŭsh;* (2) broad-leafed variety, *shon* (eastern dialect, *shówen*).
moss, *hánakóhl.*
pumice, *kiól.*
seal-hide thong: (1) for joining harpoon-point and shaft, *tamutú;* (2) for circular lashing, *twowawáru;* (3) for mooring canoes, *wurrsh.*
shell: (1) for drinking-cup, *auflán;* (2) for necklace, *kaŭsh uddlu;* (3) for scraper-blade, *chiamúnka.*
whalebone, *tirsh.*
wood. See Table I, page 29.

[1] See also household equipment, and weapons and hunting equipment.

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NUMBERS

See page 121.

TOOLS

awl, *ámi*.
bark remover: (1) for man, *sánakal;* (2) for woman, *téshupu*.
scraper: (1) of shell, *tu"wi'na;* (2) of steel, *wána*.
sharpening stone, *chípi*.

WEAPONS AND HUNTING EQUIPMENT

bird-snare, *aúrum*.
club, *kíwa*.
dip-net, *chiwanúsh*.
fish-line, *tápim*. The sinker is *társhir;* the bait noose is *tukaléna*.
harpoon: (1) single-barb type, *awala* (eastern dialect, *nala*); (2) double-barb type, *waiki* (eastern dialect, *wek*). The shaft is called *shoshala;* the thong around the socket is *tuwawíru;* the thong from point to shaft is *támutu*.
harpoon-point case of seal-hide, *yamíku*.
knife (steel), *hárfkar*.
sling, *watewá*, *mata"wá*.
spear: (1) for fish, *shushróya* (eastern dialect, *usháwala*); (2) double-headed fish-spear, *ámpa, úmpa;* (3) crab-spear, *sítu* (the shaft is *akwisimána*); (4) limpet-spear, *haliúna;* (5) guanaco-spear, *wunai*.
torch (made of bark of *Nothofagus betuloides*), *alirshun* (eastern dialect, *ailshu*).